

Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Barr in support of the bill. The bill is sound in its objectives. It was clearly my obligation to be there for the meeting of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

I understand, since coming into the Senate Chamber, that an exciting and inciting speech was made by the acting majority leader, the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long]. It left at least the impression with some of my colleagues, as they reported it to me, that the acting majority leader gave them the impression he thought that some of us who are opposed to the unconstitutional and illegal war in South Vietnam may not share the same loyalty to our Government as he does.

Mr. President, I know that these are hysterical days and some people become emotionally aroused in many places—apparently even some Senators in the Senate. But I believe we should pause and take a look at the fact that we are living in a historic hour with a great historic debate now going on in the Senate, where there are sincere and honest differences of opinion among us as to what American foreign policy should be followed in Asia.

I do not intend to engage in any ad hominem exchange, directly or indirectly, with the acting majority leader, but I do intend to keep my sights on what I consider to be some of the great issues confronting this country in this critical hour.

If anyone believes that it is pleasant or enjoyable for those of us in the Senate who find ourselves in serious disagreement with the administration, he could not be more wrong. But, Mr. President, I am perfectly willing to let history be the judge of the outcome of this debate. I am perfectly willing to let history be the final determinant as to who is right and who is wrong. However, each of us, irrespective of how he views this great crisis, has the same obligation under the oath which he took when he came into the Senate—and I took that oath four times—and I do not intend to walk out on that oath, no matter how many stones of innuendo are cast at my skull.

Mr. President, I intend to keep faith with what I believe my trust to be. I do not yield to anyone in the Senate in my desire to give the fullest protection to American boys in South Vietnam. However they should not be there. They never should have been sent there in the first place, and the means should be found to bring them home.

Those of us seeking to bring an end to this war by recommendations for procedures other than those which our President is following, are seeking not only to protect those boys by seeking to bring the war to an end, but are also seeking to prevent the killing of what we believe will be increasing thousands of American boys in Asia in a war to which we should not be party. It is a war in which others should be in there enforcing a peace.

Mr. President, briefly those who favor this war and those of us who are opposed to it represent the two sides to this great controversy.

We opposed to it are perfectly willing to let the American people be the judges, too. Let me say most respectfully to my President that the American people will be the judges of this issue. I believe that the President is quite wrong if he believes that there is a consensus of American public opinion in support of the war or of his policies in connection with it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator from Oregon has expired.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for 3 additional minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I believe that there is not a consensus of American public opinion in support of this war, but that there is a consensus in support of peace. Thus far, the President has succeeded in giving the impression to many Americans that his road is the road to peace.

Some of us who disagree with him are of the opinion that if we continue to follow the course of action of the President of the United States, the United States will be involved in a massive war in Asia. Hundreds of thousands of American boys will die as that war escalates.

I have been saying for some weeks now, that there may be a surrender of the Vietcong and North Vietnam in a matter of not too many weeks from now; at least, their capacity to fight conventional warfare may be destroyed. But that is not going to produce peace, for guerrilla warfare can still be carried on indefinitely. That will only bog us down and bed us down in Asia for decades to come as, eventually, the Asians carry out what I believe to be inevitable; namely, their unflagging determination to see to it that no Western Nation—including the United States—succeeds in exercising a dominating influence in Asia.

That is a part of this debate. I rise at this moment only to register by caveat and say to my acting majority leader, and anyone else in the Senate who shares his view, that I would not make my loyalty to my country and the safety of anyone in the Senate—and all of us are loyal, in my judgment, on both sides of the issue. But, as I stated the other day, and repeat, I am very unhappy and saddened over the differences which have developed over viewpoints in respect to this war, but it will never be a personal difference, so far as I am concerned. I regret the difference which has developed between the President and me in respect to how the President is conducting foreign policy. I believe that he is dead wrong, but I continue to love him. However, he knows I love my country more. I am not going to change my course of action merely because some think unkindly of me and are prone to express unkind remarks.

Our real job, as I see it, is to do everything we can to try to substitute the rule of law for the jungle law of military might which the United States is presently practicing in Asia without a scintilla of right under the Constitution of the United States.

PERSONAL STATEMENT BY  
SENATOR MORSE

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, at 12 o'clock, today, I was presiding as acting chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations at a public hearing on the Asian bank bill. We heard able testimony by Eugene Black, David Bell, and